635 Council and its president.

From this list the powers of the Provincial People's Congress are enumerated. It should be noted, however, that while the Provincial People's Congress has a number of powers over organs on the provincial and lower levels, it is itself under the ultimate control of the National People's Congress and inevitably of the Central Government.

666 The Provincial People's Congress is elected indirectly. Its size is determined by: (1) the population of the province; (2) the number of the counties within the province. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the Congresses of all levels, a province with a population not exceeding 20 million shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; a province with a population exceeding 20 million, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties are exceptionally small, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but shall not exceed 600.

Since the members of the Provincial People's Congress are elected, not directly by the people of the province, but indirectly by the counties, the provincial municipalities, towns, and others, the size of the Provincial Congress is governed by a second principle: a county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population between 200,000 and 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a population exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies.

666 From the municipalities and towns and the important industrial and mining districts within the provinces, one deputy shall be elected by every 20,000 of the population. Based on the above-mentioned principles, the number of the members of the Provincial Congress as of the Southwest is as follows: Szechwan, 650, plus Sikang, 101; Yunnan, 344; Kweichow, 284.

635 It is important to note the relationship between the provincial government and the provincial congress in their actual work. Usually, the chairman or the governor gives a report on government work, followed by another report on the tasks of the coming year, which announced not only the measures planned by provincial government but also the methods by which the people can fulfill the agricultural and industrial production quotas. As examples, the procedure of the Szechwan and the Yunnan Provincial People's Congresses have been described in the above paragraphs. The procedure of the first Kweichow Provincial People's Congress affords a further illustration.

The first Provincial People's Congress of Kweichow was convened in the period July 22-30, with an attendance of 284 members. Chou Lin, the vice-chairman of Kweichow, made a report on the work of the Kweichow government in the past four years. He pointed out that great improvement had been made in handling the affairs of the minority groups. In the counties where the minorities were 40 per cent of the

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668 Union. 58

668 666 3. The Election and the Post-Constitution Period: 1953-1955. Premier Chou En-lai's announcement of a nationwide election in 1953 and the fact that the majority of 280,000 hsiang had held all-circle People's conferences indicated the degree of Communist confidence in their power.

At the village and hsiang levels, the key task in the period prior to the election was the consolidation and strengthening of the hsiang government and the allocation of electoral districts.[59] The ts'un (village) lost its status as an administrative unit. Its powers were taken over by the new hsiang government. At the same time, delegates to the hsiang representative conference were formed into a team for liaison work between the ts'un and the hsiang government. The jurisdiction of the hsiang governments was reduced, in order that they might exert closer control over the population under their authority. Jurisdiction was limited to area within a radius of 30 li

58. Ibid., Sept. 29, 1952, p. 2.

59. See the directive issued by Chang Chi-ch'un in Ibid., Nov. 21, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U: S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

668 (approximately 10 miles) of the local head-
666 quarters and a population between 500 and 10,000. Ch'ü and county administrations were dealt with in similar fashion. The former was to have not more than 10 hsiang under its jurisdiction and the latter, not more than 10 ch'ü. Finally, electoral delegates were alloted on the basis of hsiang population.

668 After the promulgation of the Constitution, Communist political power was further strengthened. The hsiang People's congress now holds the highest formal authority in the locality, but the true power remains with the hsiang People's council. Resistance remains strong in the rural areas, however, and in 1955, two strong countermeasures were passed by
474 the Party.[60] Further expansion of agricultural
668 producers' co-operatives was temporarily checked, and the first Rural Basic-Level Organization Conference was held in April 1955 for the purpose of strengthening Party

60." Wei-shen-ma Pi-hsü Chung-shih Nung-yeh Sheng-ch'an Ho-tso-she Ti Kung-ku Kung-tso?" ["Why Should Productive Co-operatives Be Strengthened?"], New China Monthly, March 1955, pp. 133-134.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

668 the government's view and emphasizes the technique of self-criticism.

Communist control in the city is much more rigid and forceful than in the village. With the spread of Communist domination over many organizations, factories, and other professional organizations, Communist domination is strengthened. Although public security sub-stations play a leading role in enforcing government decrees, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the People's courts, should not be minimized.

III. ELECTIONS AND POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

666 665 A. Elections

The nationwide election which produced the People's congresses at all levels was held in the Southwest between 1953 and July-August, 1954.

1. Election Mechanism. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China was

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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665 promulgated on March 1, 1953.[64] Article 3
666 stipulates that deputies to People's congresses of a province, county, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected by a like People's congress of the next lower level. Deputies to the People's congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected directly by the electors. To administer these elections, the electoral law provides for the establishment of election committees at all levels down to the hsiang. Members of the committees are appointed by the People's government of the next higher level. The eight functions assigned to the committee at the hsiang level were reinforced by the directive issued in April 1953 by the Central Election Committee.[65] The chairman of the committee is appointed from the higher level. The committee defines electoral districts: each district consists

64. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congresses and Local People's Congresses of all Levels, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1953.

65. For the eight functions of the committee, see Article 39, ibid.

665 of at least 200 people, in order to supply two
666 or three representatives. A voter-qualification examination board is established; only those who pass the examination may receive the electoral certificate. Committees at the hsiang level directly control the selection of candidates through negotiations between the Party representatives and representatives of mass organizations within the election committee.

Although the election of the People's congresses above the county level must be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of hsiang or a town deputy may be conducted byeither secret ballot or a show of hands (Article 55).

665 During the period prior to the general
208 elections of 1953 and 1954, the Party
666 accelerated its program of propagandaand indoctrination. Every phase of the campaign was designed to induce mass participation and greater adherence to Communist values and objectives. Szechwan was the center of an especially intense propaganda campaign.66

66. New China Daily, May 16, 1953, p. 1; also May 30, 1953, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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Fifty nine thousand election handbooks were distributed by some 180,000 specially trained propagandists, many of them members of the Szechwan Federation of Literature and Art Circles. Among other devices used were 34 mobile motion picture projection teams, 400 slide-projector units, innumerable "cultural" exhibits, and periodic radio broadcasts. Election personnel were chosen from various Party, governmental, and mass organizations. Students also were widely used. For example, in Kweichow some 400 students of political science and law, together with several hundred graduates of the Provincial Institue of Nationalists, served as election officers.[67]

The result of the election was a foregone conclusion. In all provinces, between one-fourth and one-third of the deputies elected to the Provincial People's Congresses were members of the Communist Party.[68] Most non-Party deputies enthusiastically supported the Party's program. It would seem that, like most elections in Communist states, the general elections of 1953 and 1954 were

67. Ibid., May 19, 1953, p. 3.

68. People's Daily, March 21, 1954, p. 3; also April 28, 1954, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
AF16

conducted in order to facilitate the indoctrination of the masses, rather than to secure leaders who enjoyed the support of the majority of the electorate.

2. Selection and Nomination of Candidates. Article 47 of the Electoral Law regulates the nomination of candidates. Members of the Communist Party of China, the various democratic parties, the various People's organizations, and electors or representatives who are not affiliated with the above-mentioned parties or organizations may be nominated as candidates for election as deputies, either jointly through negotiation among the groups or separately by each party, according to electoral districts and electoral units. In all cases, however, joint nomination is the rule and the caucus method is adopted. Negotiations on the nomination of candidates at the provincial or municipal level are made through the consultative conference of the level in question. At the county level or below, where such conferences do not exist, negotiations are carried out by the election committee. There is little doubt that the Communist Party of China commands the selection of candidates in the negotiations. At the hsiang level, a preliminary list of the candidates is given to the electors' discussion group for approval

665 and returned to the election committee. The
666 final list is then published five days before the election.

3. Election Campaign and Fund. The practice of joint nomination of candidates usually eliminates the need for election campaigning. Candidates from other parties and organizations so selected must first meet the approval of the local Party organization; if they are approved, their election is assured. Any campaigning must take place only at the Party meeting and discussion group meetings, where candidates may be questioned and qualifications discussed. With respect to electin expenses, Article 8 of the electoral law permits a disbursement from the national treasury. Since campaigning is rare, the collection of a campaign fund is not provided for. Article 62 singles out bribery as an offense. Other unlawful practices include violence, intimidation, and fraud. Offenders are subject to fine or imprisonment.

B. Politics of Minor Parties

After 1950, minor parties gradually re-established themselves in the key cities of Southwest China. The most noted are the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang,

665 the China Association for the Promotion of
666 Democracy, the Democratic League, the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party, and the Chih Kung Tang.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, composed of former Kuomintang officials, forms the largest group participating in government. The next largest is the Democratic League. As a party made up of the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, it serves as a symbol of coalition. The China Association for the Promotion of Democracy is a party of the national bourgeoisie, including industrialists and capitalists. Its services are needed in the nation's economic programs. Minor parties having some political importance are drafted for other activities. Of special importance is the Chih Kung Tang, which, as an overseas Chinese political association, has been a major medium through which the Communists seek support from abroad.

The status of minor parties in this region is determined ultimately by their status in the central government -- a status which changed after the promulgation of the Constitution. While the Constitution still calls for the continued functioning of the People's

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665 Democratic United Front led by the Communist
666 Party of China, the democratic groups of the United Front are rapidly losing their identity.

The local consultative committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which are the organizational forms of the United Front, are no longer politically important. In 1951 their duties included assisting local governments, reflecting public opinion, examining decrees submitted by the government, and participating in government-sponsored drives. Article 18 of the Constitution has reduced them to advisory agencies.[69]

It is true that minor parties may still participate in government affairs, either through the nomination of candidates to the People's congresses or through the local consultative committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; hosever, as the foregoing sections have indicated, the People's congresses and People's councils fail to provide for real popular participation. Equally significant is the reduction in the establishment of consultative committees below the provincial level. Prior to the

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69. English text of the Constitution of the Chinese People's P.C.C. in Current Background, No. 309, Dec. 25, 1954.

promulgation of the Constitution in September 1954, the establishment of these committees in administrative districts, cities, and counties was encouraged. The new Constitution only allows for the establishment of these committees in provinces and in municipalities directly under the central authority.

With the consolidation of Communist political power at all levels, the position of minor parties is further endangered. For instance, the liquidation of capitalists in the transitional stage certainly will reduce the power of the China Association for the Promotion of Democracy. Eventually, minor parties no longer will exist as political forces in the ordinary sense of the term, simply because they no longer will exert political influence.

1. Control and Infiltration of Minor Parties. The most effective way of eliminating minor parties and their activities is to exercise strict control over them, either through direct subjugation or infiltration. The guiding principles to be observed by all minor parties participating in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

208 The significance of the part played by personal contact in the Communist propaganda scheme is well expressed in an editorial of the People's Daily. The Party has been relying on separate propaganda campaigns to achieve the goals, the editorial said. At first, Party members thought that personal contact was essential to the successful dissemination of propaganda. Now everybody admits that "propaganda officers are trail-blazers without whom nothing can be undertaken."[78]

VII. CONCLUSION

A. The Massiveness of the System

208 666 The Chinese Communist propaganda machine makes use of all types of media which are coordinated to function effectively. Once a decision is made by the top members of the Party hierarchy, it will be transmitted to Party and government agencies at lower levels for execution. Then a sort of chain reaction will begin. Take the 1954 general election, for instance. The decision was made in Peking in early 1953. By May all the provinces had already organized special committees

78. People's Daily, Peking, 1953, p. 1.

208 to carry it out. Meanwhile from Peking came
666 detailed instructions embodied in the General Election Handbook, of which 1,380,000 copies were distributed throughout the country. Discussions on the forthcoming election filled the pages of the press and consumed the bulk of radio time of all the major broadcasting stations. Provincial authorities further printed thousands of pamphlets for distribution. The Shantung provincial branch of the New China Bookstore alone handled more than 16,000 copies of these pamphlets in the first half of May 1953. By June all the propaganda officers were mobilized, briefed on the subject, and assigned to work. In Szechwan Province, 180,000 propaganda officers worked feverishly. More than 400 lantern slide teams took to the back roads and side roads of the province; about 79
440 cultural centers staged co-ordinated programs. Every unit of the public information and propaganda system was put to work. It was claimed that, mainly on the basis of this immense propaganda campaign, the turnout of the election was close to 90 per cent of the nation's total eligible voters. Such a claim might have been exaggerated, but the effectiveness of such an intense campaign
208 should not be totally discredited. After all, during China's War of Resistance against Japan, the propaganda teams organized by the Nationalists succeeded, in 1938-40 at least, in making the villagers of western Szechwan aware of the national leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, and the grave situation

79. People's Daily, Peking, May 29, 1953, p. 1.